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The Regulatory Legacy of the Reagan Revolution: An Analysis of 1990 Federal Regulatory Budgets and Staffing

by

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THE REGULATORY LEGACY OF THE REAGAN REVOLUTION: AN ANALYSIS OF 1990 FEDERAL REGULATORY BUDGETS AND STAFFING

by Melinda Warren and Kenneth Chilton

I. Highlights

President Reagan began his first term of office with a vow to rein in the regulatory establishment and set up a task force on regulatory relief (headed by then Vice President George Bush) to get the job done. Despite these efforts, regulatory expenditures increased more than 21 percent (in real terms) between the 1981 Budget and the 1990 Budget. Reagan's attempt to stop the regulatory tide was not as successful as advocates of regulatory reform had hoped.

However, Reagan *was* able to slow the *growth* of federal regulatory spending. If regulatory costs had continued to increase at the same rate of real growth established between 1975 and 1980 (27 percent), federal expenditures would total $11.8 billion instead of the $8.4 billion that is projected for 1990 (both of these figures are in 1982 dollars).

Although the 1990 Budget is the first one to be submitted by the Bush administration, it is essentially Ronald Reagan's swan song budget. President Bush did not see fit to offer any substantial revisions to his former boss's plans. This is in direct contrast with the 1982 Budget in which Reagan signaled a regulatory sea change by drastically revising Jimmy Carter's final budget.

With proposed cuts of 1 percent in real spending levels, the 1990 Budget seems to offer a final message from Ronald Reagan that the federal regulatory establishment is

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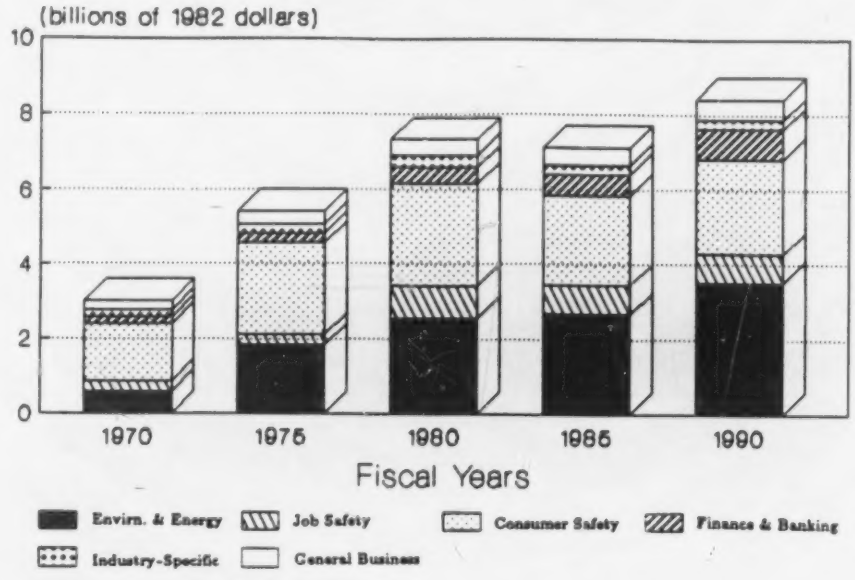
large enough. Staffing figures also seem to be "staying the course" set up by the former administration. The 1 percent growth in personnel for 1990 is consistent with Reagan's past six budgets where staffing grew a maximum of 2 percent per year.

Figures 1 and 2 graphically depict the trends in employment and spending at the regulatory agencies during the last 20 years. As would be expected, fiscal 1970 was the low water mark for regulatory spending for this period. Figure 1 also shows that, although 1985 expenditures were less than in 1980, total regulatory spending will reach a new all-time high in 1990.

Staffing levels, however, have been contained somewhat over the past 10 years. The number of federal regulatory employees reached a peak of nearly 119,000 in 1980, fell to slightly over 101,000 in 1985 and are estimated to climb back to 107,000 in 1990. The 1990 personnel figures are the highest since 1981 but are much closer to the 1975 levels (105,000) than 1980 levels (118,000).

Figure 1

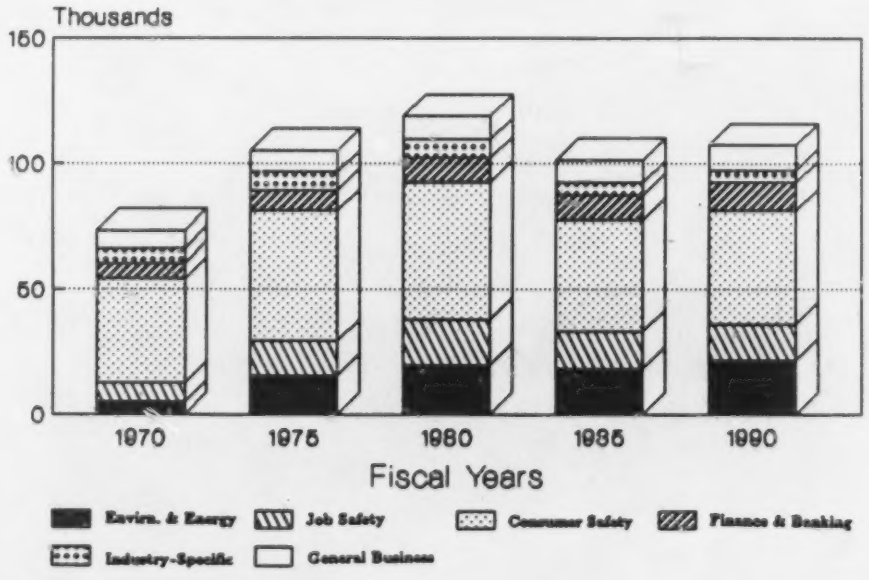
Trends in Regulatory Spending



Source: CSAB, Washington University.

Figure 2

Trends in Regulatory Staffing



Source: CSAB, Washington University.

II. Overview of the 1990 Budget

Expenditures

Federal regulatory expenditures in the proposed 1990 Budget total nearly $11 billion (in current dollars). As shown in Table 1, this level of spending reflects a 2 percent nominal increase over 1989. However, as Table 2 displays, expenditures are projected to decline 1 percent in 1990 in real terms. But this does not mean that President Bush's first budget document treats all agencies equally.

At the subcategory level, consumer safety and health is slated for a 5 percent nominal increase. Within this subcategory, both the Coast Guard and the Federal Aviation Administration have large projected increases for 1990 -- 18 and 17 percent respectively. (See Appendix Table A-1 for details.)

Job safety and other working conditions rises 3 percent in nominal terms. There are no major stories within the individual agencies in this area. The largest increase was in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's budget, but this merely matches the forecast for inflation between 1989 and 1990.

A 4 percent rise in nominal spending for environment and energy is net of a major decrease in spending for the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement (OSMRE). This agency is projected to decrease its spending over 32 percent (from $376 million in 1989 to $254 million in 1990), reflecting a major cut in federal support for the abandoned mine reclamation fund. But an increase of 8 percent at the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) more than offsets the decline at OSMRE.[1]

Spending at the economic regulatory agencies varies considerably between subcategories. Only "industry-specific regulation" is scheduled for higher real spending levels -- a 7 percent nominal increase and 4 percent real growth. The Federal Maritime Commission shows the greatest amount of nominal growth -- 14 percent. However, this

[1]For the purposes of this study, EPA construction grants are not included in "regulatory" expenditures.

Table 1

ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS OF FEDERAL REGULATORY ACTIVITIES IN CURRENT DOLLARS
(Fiscal Years, Millions of Dollars)

Area of Regulation	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	(Estimated) 1990	% Change 1970-1980	% Change 1980-1990	% Change 1989-1990
SOCIAL REGULATION																
Consumer Safety and Health.....	$710	$1,497	$2,354	$2,479	$2,461	$2,480	$2,577	$2,686	$2,673	$2,850	$2,914	$3,156	$3,308	232%	41%	5%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions.....	128	364	753	807	774	807	836	860	823	884	917	959	992	488%	32%	3%
Environment and Energy.....	278	1,114	2,201	2,173	2,276	2,260	2,671	2,976	2,793	3,615	4,094	4,428	4,618	692%	110%	4%
TOTAL - Social Regulation.....	$1,116	$2,975	$5,308	$5,459	$5,511	$5,547	$6,084	$6,522	$6,289	$7,349	$7,925	$8,543	$8,918	376%	68%	4%
ECONOMIC REGULATION																
Finance and Banking.....	$87	155	$362	$401	$436	$415	$650	$624	$890	$774	$1,063	$1,196	$1,028	316%	184%	-14%
Industry-Specific Regulation.....	91	160	279	291	282	285	293	289	270	284	294	303	325	207%	16%	7%
General Business.....	115	206	354	374	382	435	458	507	528	579	647	696	709	208%	100%	2%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation.....	$293	$521	$995	$1,066	$1,100	$1,135	$1,401	$1,420	$1,688	$1,637	$2,004	$2,195	$2,062	240%	107%	-6%
GRAND TOTAL.....	$1,409	$3,496	$6,303	$6,525	$6,611	$6,682	$7,485	$7,942	$7,977	$8,986	$9,929	$10,738	$10,980	347%	74%	2%
% Change in Nominal Terms.....		148%	80%	4%	1%	1%	12%	6%	0%	13%	10%	8%	2%			

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Table 2

ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS OF FEDERAL REGULATORY ACTIVITIES IN CONSTANT 1982 DOLLARS
(Fiscal Years, Millions of Dollars)

Area of Regulation	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	(Estimated) 1990	% Change 1970-1980	% Change 1980-1990	% Change 1989-1990
SOCIAL REGULATION																
Consumer Safety and Health	$1,524	$2,462	$2,730	$2,629	$2,461	$2,382	$2,384	$2,409	$2,343	$2,434	$2,396	$2,497	$2,527	79%	-7%	1%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	275	599	873	856	774	775	773	771	721	755	754	759	758	218%	-13%	0%
Environment and Energy	597	1,832	2,553	2,304	2,276	2,171	2,471	2,669	2,448	3,087	3,367	3,503	3,528	328%	38%	1%
TOTAL - Social Regulation	$2,395	$4,893	$6,156	$5,789	$5,511	$5,329	$5,628	$5,849	$5,512	$6,276	$6,517	$6,759	$6,813	157%	11%	1%
ECONOMIC REGULATION																
Finance and Banking	$187	255	$420	$425	$436	$399	$601	$560	$780	$661	$874	$946	$785	125%	87%	-17%
Industry-Specific Regulation	195	263	324	309	282	274	271	259	237	243	242	240	248	66%	-23%	4%
General Business	247	339	411	397	382	418	424	455	463	494	532	551	542	66%	32%	-2%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation	$629	$857	$1,154	$1,130	$1,100	$1,090	$1,296	$1,274	$1,479	$1,398	$1,648	$1,737	$1,575	84%	37%	-9%
GRAND TOTAL	$3,024	$5,750	$7,310	$6,919	$6,611	$6,419	$6,924	$7,123	$6,991	$7,674	$8,165	$8,495	$8,388	142%	15%	-1%
% Change in Real Terms		90%	27%	-5%	-4%	-3%	8%	3%	-2%	10%	6%	4%	-1%			

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

large increase has very little impact on the total because this agency represents such a small percentage of the total budget.

In the finance and banking category, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) shows an unusual pattern. Spending substantially increased in 1988 (from $326 million in 1987 to $565 million in 1988). Another large increase is expected in 1989 -- with estimated expenditures of $650 million. However, in 1990, the proposed budget for FDIC is only $491 million. An analyst at the Office of Management and Budget attributes the drop in spending to OMB's projection of fewer bank failures in 1990. The 17 percent decrease in spending for 1990 in the finance and banking area is a direct result of the more than 29 percent decrease projected for FDIC.

Personnel Plans

As Table 3 shows, staffing figures are projected to expand by 1,400 employees in 1990 or approximately 1 percent. Employment in the social regulation category will grow by about 1,000. The small increase in the consumer safety and health subcategory can be attributed to a relatively large staffing addition at the Federal Highway Administration (FHA). FHA expects to add 150 new safety inspectors and 35 new clerical positions between 1989 and 1990 -- an increase of more than 41 percent. (See Appendix Table A-2 for details.) A 2 percent increase in the environment and energy section of the Budget is primarily due to a 5 percent expansion in the staff of the Environmental Protection Agency.

An increase of slightly less than 400 employees in the economic category translates into a 1.5 percent increase. Nearly half of this growth will occur in the Securities and Exchange Commission, with a projected increase of 184 personnel.

Table 3

STAFFING FOR FEDERAL REGULATORY ACTIVITIES
(Fiscal Years, Permanent Full-Time Positions)

Area of Regulation	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990	% Change 1970-1980	% Change 1980-1990	% Change 1989-1990
SOCIAL REGULATION																
Consumer Safety and Health	41,613	51,764	54,591	52,758	49,114	46,046	45,264	44,485	43,549	44,017	43,737	44,449	44,980	31%	-19%	1%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	7,472	13,694	18,201	18,023	16,151	15,849	15,570	14,577	14,303	14,354	14,546	14,620	14,628	144%	-20%	0%
Environment and Energy	4,929	15,618	19,621	18,200	16,613	16,526	16,835	18,373	19,134	20,454	20,775	21,015	21,496	298%	7%	2%
TOTAL - Social Regulation	54,014	81,076	92,413	88,981	81,878	78,421	77,669	77,435	76,986	78,825	79,058	80,084	81,104	71%	-13%	1%
ECONOMIC REGULATION																
Finance and Banking	6,219	8,117	9,681	9,439	9,371	9,386	9,764	9,850	10,914	10,313	10,955	11,245	11,249	56%	16%	0%
Industry-Specific Regulation	6,072	7,221	7,365	6,946	6,403	5,921	5,715	4,969	4,792	4,792	4,806	4,952	4,942	21%	-33%	0%
General Business	7,070	8,638	9,390	9,055	8,685	8,737	8,841	9,026	9,136	8,642	9,045	9,509	9,899	33%	1%	4%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation	19,361	23,976	26,436	25,440	24,459	24,044	24,320	23,845	24,842	23,747	24,806	25,706	26,090	37%	-3%	1%
GRAND TOTAL	73,375	105,052	118,849	114,421	106,337	102,465	101,989	101,280	101,828	102,572	103,864	105,790	107,194	62%	-11%	1%
% Change		43%	13%	-4%	-7%	-4%	0%	-1%	1%	1%	— 1%	2%	1%			

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

III. Federal Regulatory Trends During the Past Two Decades

Spending Trends

Table 4 compares, in constant dollars, the percentage change in administrative costs for each subcategory of federal regulatory activities over five-year intervals starting in 1970 and ending in 1990. It reveals that between 1970 and 1975 the regulatory establishment expanded dramatically. Most of this hyper growth was in the social regulatory area where costs increased 104 percent. Spending for environment and energy led with an increase of 207 percent. This is not particularly surprising in view of the fact that the Environmental Protection Agency was established in 1970 and considerable funds were needed for the tremendous tasks the EPA was assigned. There was also a large (131 percent) increase in the budget of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission between 1970 and 1975.

The 1975 to 1980 time period shows solid, if not spectacular, growth, with real spending increasing 27 percent. In percentage terms, economic regulation -- especially in the area of finance and banking -- grew faster than regulatory activities aimed at social purposes. However, the 39 percent increase for environmental and energy regulation represents a cost increase of $721 million, more than twice the total increase for economic regulation during the same period.

During President Reagan's first term, real regulatory expenditures actually decreased. Table 4 shows that from 1980 to 1985 these costs went down 3 percent. Most of this decrease took place in the social regulatory area (a 5 percent decrease) but not in the environmental area. Environmental budgets continued to grow but at a greatly reduced pace -- up 5 percent. Economic regulation also increased from 1980 to 1985, with an overall change of 10 percent. Again, the majority of the spending increase for this category was in the area of finance and banking.

However, the administration's attempt to rein in the federal regulatory establishment basically halted in 1984, and growth resumed between 1985 and 1990.

Table 4

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN REAL ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS OF FEDERAL REGULATORY ACTIVITIES -- FOR FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS FROM 1970 TO 1990

Area of Regulation	% Change 1970-1975	% Change 1975-1980	% Change 1980-1985	% Change 1985-1990
SOCIAL REGULATION				
Consumer Safety and Health	62%	11%	-12%	5%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	118	46	-12	-2
Environment and Energy	207	39	-5	32
TOTAL - Social Regulation	104%	26%	-5%	16%
ECONOMIC REGULATION				
Finance and Banking	37%	65%	33%	40%
Industry-Specific Regulation	35	23	-20	-4
General Business	37	21	11	19
TOTAL - Economic Regulation	36%	35%	10%	24%
GRAND TOTAL	90%	27%	-3%	18%

Based on data in Table 2.

Table 5

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN FEDERAL REGULATORY STAFFING -- FOR FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS FROM 1970 TO 1990

Area of Regulation	% Change 1970-1975	% Change 1975-1980	% Change 1980-1985	% Change 1985-1990
SOCIAL REGULATION				
Consumer Safety and Health	24%	5%	-19%	1%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	83	33	-20	0
Environment and Energy	217	26	-6	17
TOTAL - Social Regulation	50%	14%	-16%	5%
ECONOMIC REGULATION				
Finance and Banking	31%	19%	2%	14%
Industry-Specific Regulation	19	2	-33	-1
General Business	22	9	-4	10
TOTAL - Economic Regulation	24%	10%	-10%	9%
GRAND TOTAL	43%	13%	-15%	6%

Based on data in Table 3.

Regulatory expenditures rose over this period by 18 percent -- making up for lost ground in the previous interval. Once again, the economic regulatory portion of the budget had the largest percentage increase but not, of course, the largest absolute gain in expenditures. Within this area, the finance and banking subcategory again led the way. In the social regulatory category, the environment and energy section -- which now is more than 42 percent of the total federal regulatory budget -- grew an additional 32 percent during this time frame.

Table 4 also shows that priorities within broad regulatory categories have changed significantly in the last 20 years. Between 1970 and 1980, job safety and other working conditions grew over 217 percent. Since that time, however, this category has decreased more than 13 percent. A similar story can be told about industry-specific regulation. In this area, regulatory spending increased more than 66 percent between 1970 and 1980, but fell more than 23 percent from 1980 to 1990, reflecting deregulation's effects on agency budgets. Expenditures for consumer safety and health have also decreased since 1980, but in a less dramatic fashion.

Staffing Trends

As can be seen in Table 5, the number of regulatory personnel has not risen as rapidly as expenditures in the years since 1970. The overall increase from 1970 to 1990 is 46 percent, with almost all of this rise (43 percent) coming between 1970 and 1975.

From 1970 to 1975, staffing for the social regulatory area grew 50 percent. The environment and energy category showed the greatest increase -- 217 percent. Job safety and other working conditions also showed a substantial build up during this period -- 83 percent. Personnel growth between 1970 and 1975 dramatically increased the size of the regulatory bureaucracy and its reach into the everyday decision making of private business.

Between 1975 and 1980, staffing continued to grow solidly, rising 13 percent overall. Once again, the social regulatory area exhibited the largest percentage (and absolute) increase in personnel -- 14 percent. In this time period, job safety and other working

conditions led the way adding one third to the 1975 staffing totals.

The retrenchment period of 1980-1985 showed cuts almost across the board in regulatory staffing. There were 15 percent fewer staffers in 1985 than in 1980. Only one subcategory -- finance and banking -- showed an increase, and this was only 2 percent. The greatest reduction in personnel -- 33 percent -- was in the area of industry-specific regulation, once again reflecting significant deregulation of the transportation industry.

Table 5 also reveals that staffing numbers began to rebound between 1985 and 1990. However, even with this growth, the total number of regulatory personnel has not yet regained the 1980 high-water mark. In fact, if the estimates for 1990 hold, there will be nearly 11 percent fewer staffers in 1990 than there were in 1980. (See Table 3.)

Some subcategories do show significant growth in personnel over the 1985 numbers, however. The figures for environment and energy project a 17 percent increase and the finance and banking area is expected to grow 14 percent.

IV. Developments at the Largest Regulatory Agencies

This section analyzes changes in the "top ten" social and economic regulatory agencies over the last two decades, based on budget figures for 1970, 1980 and 1990. (See Tables 6 and 7.)

The Top Ten Social Agencies

Ranking the top ten social regulatory agencies (on the basis of "obligations") over the past 20 years reveals some interesting changes in federal regulatory priorities. Furthermore, the concentration of expenditures or "market share" of the largest agencies has been altered considerably.

The Environmental Protection Agency has held the number one ranking for all three time periods. Moreover, as Table 6 shows, EPA's percentage of total spending by the top ten agencies increased from 21 percent in 1970 to 34 percent in 1980 to 50 percent in 1990. This overwhelming market share of federal regulatory spending for social purposes reflects both the expanding assignments given EPA and the high level of public support for environmental regulation.

Agricultural Marketing Service, National Labor Relations Board, and Employment Standards Administration were in the top ten in 1970, but were replaced by others in 1980 and 1990. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission did not make the top ten in 1980, after ranking seventh in 1970, but claimed the number five spot in 1990. Agencies which moved into the top ten in 1980 were Food Safety and Inspection Service, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement, and the Economic Regulatory Administration (energy price controls). By 1990, the Economic Regulatory Administration had dropped from the list of the top ten agencies, reflecting the deregulation of oil prices.

Table 6 also shows that, although the composition of the agencies has changed, six agencies -- EPA, Federal Aviation Administration, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Coast Guard, Food and Drug Administration and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and

Table 6

THE TOP TEN SOCIAL REGULATORY AGENCIES, RANKED BASED ON EXPENDITURES FOR 1970, 1980 AND 1990

	1970		1980		1990	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Environmental Protection Agency	1	21%	1	34%	1	50%
Agricultural Marketing Service	2	19				
Federal Aviation Administration	3	13	6	7	4	7
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service	4	10	7	6	7	5
Coast Guard	5	10	2	12	2	8
Food and Drug Administration	6	8	5	8	3	7
Nuclear Regulatory Commission	7	6			5	7
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms	8	5	3	10	10	3
National Labor Relations Board	9	4				
Employment Standards Administration	10	4				
Food Safety and Inspection Service		4	9	6	6	
Occupational Safety and Health Administration			8	5	9	4
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement			9	4	8	3
Economic Regulatory Administration			10	4		
		100%		100%		100%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Firearms -- were in the top ten for all three time periods. The relative positions of these agencies have shifted, but they continue to be dominant in social regulatory spending.

The Top Ten Economic Agencies

Table 7 reveals that the top ten economic agencies have remained relatively stable over the 20-year period. The top three agencies -- Patent and Trademark Office, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) and Comptroller of the Currency -- have changed places, but all have remained in the top three.

As shown in Table 7, the Patent and Trademark Office comprised 19 percent of the total expenditures by the top ten agencies in 1970. This percentage dropped to 13 in 1980 but rose to 16 in 1990. FDIC leads in 1990 with 26 percent. In 1970 and 1980, FDIC represented 15 percent and 14 percent of the total, respectively.

The distribution of spending for the top ten economic regulatory agencies was more uniform in 1970 and 1980 than in 1990. In 1970, seven agencies each spent at least 8 percent of the total, and this rose to nine out of ten in 1980. But in 1990 only five agencies held at least an 8 percent share of total spending. In antitrust parlance, the economic regulatory "industry" is becoming "more concentrated," with finance and banking agencies grabbing the greatest market share.

The Civil Aeronautics Board, which was eliminated in 1984, ranked tenth in 1970 but had fallen from the ranks of the top ten by 1980. Regulatory activities of the Federal Reserve Banks replaced the CAB on the top ten list, ranking fourth in both 1980 and 1990.

Table 7

THE TOP TEN ECONOMIC REGULATORY AGENCIES, RANKED BASED ON EXPENDITURES FOR 1970, 1980 AND 1990

	1970		1980		1990	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Patent and Trademark Office	1	19%	3	13%	2	16%
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	2	15	2	14	1	26
Comptroller of the Currency	3	13	1	14	3	15
Interstate Commerce Commission	4	11	5	9	10	2
Federal Communications Commission	5	10	6	9	7	6
Securities and Exchange Commission	6	9	7	9	5	10
Federal Trade Commission	7	8	9	8	8	4
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission	8	7	8	8	6	7
Dept. of Justice Antitrust Division	9	4	10	6	9	3
Civil Aeronautics Board	10	4				
Federal Reserve Banks			4	10	4	11
		100%		100%		100%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

V. Appendix

Budget figures for the 51 major regulatory agencies shown in Table A-1 consist of obligations by fiscal year. These expenditures are rounded to the nearest million dollars. Staffing figures shown in Table A-2 consist only of permanent, full-time positions in each agency.

Agencies that primarily perform taxation, subsidy, and credit functions are excluded from these regulatory data. Examples of these organizations are the Internal Revenue Service, the Commodity Credit Corporation, and the Federal Housing Administration. Agencies that administer federal contracts and procurement procedures are likewise not included in this report.

NOTES:

(1) Agricultural Marketing Service was formerly Consumer and Marketing Service.

(2) 1970 data for the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service are from the Agricultural Research Service.

(3) The Food Safety and Inspection Service was formerly Food Safety and Quality Service.

(4) 1980 and 1981 data for the Packers and Stockyards Administration were listed within the data for the Agricultural Marketing Service.

(5) 1989 costs for the Food and Drug Administration include a large outlay for buildings.

(6) The Consumer Protection Programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development have been listed under several sources. Budgets for 1970 and 1975 are for the Office of Interstate Land Sales Registration; the budget for 1980 is for the Office of Neighborhoods, Voluntary Associations and Consumer Protection; staffing figures are not available.

(7) 1970 data for the Drug Enforcement Administration are for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

(8) 1990 staffing figures for the Federal Highway Administration include a large increase in the number of highway inspectors and clerical staff.

(9) Budgets for the Customs Service in the Department of Treasury were carried in previous analyses but were dropped beginning with the 1989 Budget due to changes in Budget documents that no longer make separation of the regulatory activities of this agency feasible.

(10) Prior to fiscal year 1973, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms was part of the Internal Revenue Service.

(11) 1970 data for the Employment Standards Administration are for the Workplace Standards Administration.

(12) 1970 data are for the Mine Safety and Health Administration for the Health and Safety Division of the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior; 1975 data are for the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration, Department of the Interior.

(13) 1975 data for the Economic Regulatory Administration are from the Federal Energy Administration; 1981 data are from the Emergency Preparedness and Energy Regulation Program, Department of Commerce.

(14) 1990 costs for the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement reflect a major cut in federal support for the abandoned mine reclamation fund.

(15) Construction grants are excluded from the calculation of the regulatory expenditures and staffing of the Environmental Protection Agency.

(16) Prior to fiscal year 1975, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission was part of the Atomic Energy Commission.

17) The Federal Home Loan Bank System has been excluded from this study because separate data on regulatory spending and staffing are no longer available.

(18) The large decrease in the 1990 Budget for the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has been explained by the Office of Management and Budget. A greatly reduced number of bank failures is projected for 1990 resulting in lower administrative costs of liquidating banks in that year.

(19) All data for the Federal Reserve System are presented on a calendar year basis.

(20) The Civil Aeronautics Board was abolished in 1984.

(21) 1970 data for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission are for the Commodity Exchange Authority, Department of Agriculture.

(22) 1970 and 1975 data for the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission are for the Federal Power Commission.

(23) The Renegotiation Board was abolished in 1979.

(24) The Cost Accounting Standards Board was abolished in 1980.

(25) The Council on Wage and Price Stability was abolished in 1981.

(26) 1970 data for the International Trade Administration are for International Activities -- Export Control; 1975 data are for the Domestic and International Business Administration.

(27) Regulation of both imports and exports was previously performed by the International Trade Administration. In the 1989 Budget, the regulation of exports is shown under the Export Administration of the Department of Commerce.

(28) 1970 data for the International Trade Commission are for the Tariff Commission.

Table A-1

COSTS OF FEDERAL REGULATORY AGENCIES
(Fiscal Years, Millions of Dollars in "Obligations")

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990
SOCIAL REGULATION													
CONSUMER SAFETY AND HEALTH													
Consumer Product Safety Commission.....	-	$37	$43	$42	$32	$34	$35	$36	$35	$35	$32	$35	$34
Department of Agriculture:													
Agricultural Marketing Service (1).....	$190	$99	$67	$73	$145	$141	$136	$157	$147	$145	$135	$162	$162
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (2).....	101	379	259	301	322	301	353	342	335	345	361	370	378
Federal Grain Inspection Service.....	-	-	55	57	45	36	37	38	36	36	38	45	45
Food Safety and Inspection Service (3).....	-	-	381	407	351	362	376	405	398	416	441	455	473
Packers and Stockyards Admin. (4).....	3	5	8	9	9	8	9	8	9	9	9	10	10
Subtotal.....	$294	$483	$770	$847	$872	$848	$911	$950	$925	$951	$984	$1,042	$1,068
Department of Health and Human Services:													
Food and Drug Administration (5).....	$80	$207	$334	$340	$351	$397	$399	$437	$415	$457	$487	$559	$523
Department of Housing and Urban Development:													
Consumer Protection Programs (6).....	*	$2	$4	$5	$3	$5	$6	$7	$6	$6	$7	$8	$8
Department of Justice:													
Drug Enforcement Administration (7).....	$2	$12	$13	$13	$15	$16	$15	$18	$19	$24	$25	$27	$27
Department of Transportation:													
Coast Guard.....	$94	$284	$498	$512	$559	$503	$534	$558	$579	$562	$499	$500	$589
Federal Aviation Administration.....	126	196	281	298	280	332	314	294	304	345	384	430	503
Federal Highway Administration (8).....	6	15	29	27	21	25	27	33	37	75	81	94	92
Federal Railroad Administration.....	21	52	85	75	54	45	48	44	44	41	46	55	56
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.....	32	104	136	150	113	106	107	114	121	136	128	139	145
Subtotal.....	$279	$651	$1,029	$1,062	$1,027	$1,011	$1,030	$1,043	$1,085	$1,159	$1,138	$1,218	$1,385

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990
Department of the Treasury (9):													
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (10)	$50	$95	$144	$151	$143	$149	$160	$173	$167	$195	$217	$242	$237
National Transportation Safety Board	$5	$10	$17	$18	$18	$20	$21	$22	$21	$23	$24	$25	$26
TOTAL--Consumer Safety and Health	$710	$1,497	$2,354	$2,479	$2,461	$2,480	$2,577	$2,686	$2,673	$2,850	$2,914	$3,156	$3,308
JOB SAFETY AND OTHER WORKING CONDITIONS													
Department of Labor:													
Employment Standards Administration (11)	$37	$49	$124	$126	$114	$122	$123	$127	$123	$132	$140	$150	$155
Labor-Management Services Administration	12	29	55	57	52	54	59	57	54	61	66	77	80
Mine Safety and Health Administration (12)	27	67	144	151	145	149	151	150	145	157	159	163	169
Occupational Safety and Health Admin	-	97	191	209	197	205	212	220	209	228	234	245	253
Subtotal	$76	$242	$514	$543	$508	$530	$545	$554	$531	$578	$599	$635	$657
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	$13	$55	$124	$138	$141	$146	$153	$163	$158	$170	$180	$181	$189
National Labor Relations Board	$39	$62	$108	$118	$118	$125	$132	$137	$129	$131	$133	$137	$140
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission	-	$5	$7	$8	$7	$6	$6	$6	$5	$5	$5	$6	$6
TOTAL--Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	$128	$364	$753	$807	$774	$807	$836	$860	$823	$884	$917	$959	$992
ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY													
Council on Environmental Quality	*	$4	$8	$5	$3	$2	$4	$1	$1	$1	$1	$1	$1
Department of Defense:													
Army Corps of Engineers	$2	$16	$41	$43	$46	$46	$51	$54	$57	$55	$55	$62	$65

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990
Department of Energy:													
Economic Regulatory Administration (13)...	-	$127	$146	$39	$53	$37	$29	$24	$23	$23	$21	$21	$20
Petroleum Regulation...	-	-	-	71	17	14	13	12	10	10	11	11	11
Federal Inspector for the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline ...	-	-	8	20	19	5	2	*	*	*	*	*	*
Subtotal...	-	$127	$154	$130	$89	$56	$44	$36	$33	$33	$32	$32	$31
Department of Interior:													
Fish and Wildlife Service...	$7	$25	$68	$79	$81	$76	$78	$90	$108	$124	$130	$144	$128
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement (14)...	-	-	174	122	227	289	380	422	324	352	369	376	$254
Subtotal...	$7	$25	$242	$201	$308	$365	$458	$512	$432	$476	$499	$520	$382
Environmental Protection Agency (15)...	$205	$794	$1,360	$1,345	$1,363	$1,324	$1,639	$1,928	$1,860	$2,642	$3,109	$3,384	$3,664
Nuclear Regulatory Commission (16)...	$64	$148	$396	$449	$467	$467	$475	$445	$410	$408	$398	$429	$475
TOTAL--Environment and Energy...	$278	$1,114	$2,201	$2,173	$2,276	$2,260	$2,671	$2,976	$2,793	$3,615	$4,094	$4,428	$4,618
TOTAL SOCIAL REGULATION...	$1,116	$2,975	$5,308	$5,459	$5,511	$5,547	$6,084	$6,522	$6,289	$7,349	$7,925	$8,543	$8,918
ECONOMIC REGULATION													
FINANCE AND BANKING (17)													
Department of the Treasury:													
Comptroller of the Currency...	$32	$65	$113	$121	$129	$144	$167	$170	$189	$193	$218	$241	$257
Farm Credit Administration...	$4	$6	$12	$13	$15	$17	$20	$20	$22	$31	$33	$35	$37
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (18)...	$39	$63	$113	$124	$131	$78	$274	$232	$462	$326	$565	$650	$461

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990
Federal Reserve System (19)													
Federal Reserve Banks	n/a	n/a	$86	$100	$119	$132	$141	$152	$164	$170	$187	$202	$202
Federal Reserve System Board of Governors	5	11	20	21	22	25	26	28	29	24	25	27	27
Subtotal	$5	$11	$106	$121	$141	$157	$167	$180	$193	$194	$212	$229	$229
National Credit Union Administration	$7	$10	$18	$22	$20	$19	$22	$22	$24	$30	$35	$41	$44
TOTAL--Finance and Banking	$87	$155	$362	$401	$436	$415	$650	$624	$890	$774	$1,063	$1,196	$1,028
INDUSTRY-SPECIFIC REGULATION													
Civil Aeronautics Board (20)	$11	$18	$29	$29	$26	$24	$21	$5	-	-	-	-	-
Commodity Futures Trading Commission (21)	$2	$3	$17	$19	$21	$24	$27	$28	$28	$29	$33	$35	$37
Federal Communications Commission	$25	$47	$76	$81	$80	$83	$89	$96	$91	$100	$102	$101	$110
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (22)	$18	$33	$68	$74	$76	$79	$88	$98	$94	$100	$101	$110	$117
Federal Maritime Commission	$4	$7	$11	$12	$11	$12	$11	$12	$11	$12	$14	$14	$16
Interstate Commerce Commission	$27	$47	$78	$76	$68	$63	$57	$50	$46	$43	$44	$43	$45
Renegotiation Board (23)	$4	$5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL--Industry-Specific Regulation	$91	$160	$279	$291	$282	$285	$293	$289	$270	$284	$294	$303	$325
GENERAL BUSINESS													
Cost Accounting Standards Board (24)	-	$1	$1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Council on Wage and Price Stability (25)	-	$1	$9	$5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990
Department of Commerce:													
International Trade Administration (26)...	$6	$9	$15	$19	$24	$40	$34	$38	$45	$54	$20	$21	$23
Export Administration (27)...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	43	43
Patent and Trademark Office...	49	78	105	116	125	152	175	200	212	244	276	306	282
Subtotal...	$55	$87	$120	$135	$149	$192	$209	$238	$257	$298	$333	$370	$348
Department of Justice:													
Antitrust Division...	$10	$18	$49	$44	$42	$44	$44	$43	$43	$43	$45	$45	$47
Federal Election Commission...	-	*	$9	$10	$9	$10	$11	$13	$12	$13	$14	$15	$14
Federal Trade Commission...	$21	$39	$66	$70	$68	$67	$64	$66	$67	$66	$67	$67	$70
International Trade Commission (28)...	$4	$9	$14	$17	$18	$19	$21	$25	$27	$31	$36	$36	$40
Library of Congress:													
Copyright Office...	$3	$6	$14	$14	$14	$15	$16	$17	$17	$17	$19	$20	$21
Securities and Exchange Commission...	$22	$45	$72	$79	$82	$88	$93	$105	$105	$111	$133	$143	$169
TOTAL--General Business...	$115	$206	$354	$374	$382	$435	$458	$507	$528	$579	$647	$696	$709
TOTAL ECONOMIC REGULATION...	$293	$521	$995	$1,066	$1,100	$1,135	$1,401	$1,420	$1,688	$1,637	$2,004	$2,195	$2,062
GRAND TOTAL...	$1,409	$3,496	$6,303	$6,525	$6,611	$6,682	$7,485	$7,942	$7,977	$8,986	$9,929	$10,738	$10,980

Notes:

* = less than $500,000

- = agency not operational

n/a = not available

(1) through (28): see notes at the beginning of the Appendix

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Table A-2

STAFFING OF FEDERAL REGULATORY AGENCIES
(Fiscal Years, Permanent Full-time Positions)

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990
SOCIAL REGULATION													
CONSUMER SAFETY AND HEALTH													
Consumer Product Safety Commission	-	884	871	812	631	577	558	502	476	456	459	498	498
Department of Agriculture:													
Agricultural Marketing Service (1)	12,719	4,231	1,913	1,935	3,402	3,152	2,863	2,814	2,802	2,780	2,809	2,804	2,747
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (2)	5,273	14,494	4,463	4,623	4,615	4,501	4,469	4,494	4,639	5,467	4,930	4,930	4,848
Federal Grain Inspection Service	-	-	2,242	1,805	1,089	875	866	739	704	686	709	800	800
Food Safety and Inspection Service (3)	-	-	13,213	12,411	10,151	9,996	9,700	9,839	9,700	9,059	8,991	9,050	9,100
Packers and Stockyards Admin. (4)	217	217	219	214	207	200	200	190	185	188	185	193	193
Subtotal	18,209	18,942	22,050	20,988	19,464	18,724	18,098	18,076	18,030	18,180	17,624	17,777	17,688
Department of Health and Human Services:													
Food and Drug Administration (5)	4,414	6,441	7,419	7,756	7,377	7,188	7,168	7,104	6,806	6,834	7,094	7,226	7,363
Department of Justice:													
Drug Enforcement Administration (7)	132	378	244	246	237	237	204	254	245	286	287	296	310
Department of Transportation:													
Coast Guard	7,064	12,323	11,513	11,274	10,518	9,642	9,696	9,206	8,346	7,928	7,488	7,268	7,361
Federal Aviation Administration	6,947	6,692	6,358	5,974	5,327	4,938	4,776	4,556	4,765	5,003	5,205	5,483	5,828
Federal Highway Administration (8)	194	278	292	271	271	271	271	271	373	433	433	448	633
Federal Railroad Administration	286	495	666	594	557	471	460	460	458	458	459	461	501
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration	518	881	874	797	686	617	640	640	640	640	648	652	656
Subtotal	15,009	20,669	19,703	18,910	17,359	15,939	15,843	15,133	14,582	14,462	14,233	14,312	14,979

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990
Department of the Treasury (9) :													
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (10)	3,574	4,140	3,916	3,687	3,687	3,046	3,038	3,059	3,059	3,475	3,716	4,016	3,828
National Transportation Safety Board	275	310	388	359	359	335	355	357	351	324	324	324	314
TOTAL--Consumer Safety and Health	41,613	51,764	54,591	52,758	49,114	46,046	45,264	44,485	43,549	44,017	43,737	44,449	44,980
JOB SAFETY AND OTHER WORKING CONDITIONS													
Department of Labor:													
Employment Standards Administration (11)	2,150	1,833	3,116	3,108	2,513	2,516	2,390	2,316	2,400	2,378	2,389	2,415	2,469
Labor-Management Services Administration	880	1,357	1,333	1,313	1,045	1,118	1,120	1,055	929	934	951	1,008	991
Mine Safety and Health Administration (12)	1,380	2,940	3,857	3,808	3,763	3,408	3,271	2,829	2,667	2,759	2,702	2,744	2,729
Occupational Safety and Health Admin	-	2,435	3,015	3,009	2,354	2,354	2,355	2,176	2,092	2,141	2,352	2,415	2,403
Subtotal	4,410	8,565	11,321	11,238	9,675	9,396	9,136	8,376	8,088	8,212	8,394	8,582	8,592
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	780	2,384	3,558	3,412	3,137	3,127	3,125	3,107	3,125	3,052	3,062	2,948	2,948
National Labor Relations Board	2,282	2,573	3,157	3,213	3,213	3,213	3,213	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission	-	172	165	160	126	113	96	94	90	90	90	90	88
TOTAL--Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	7,472	13,694	18,201	18,023	16,151	15,849	15,570	14,577	14,303	14,354	14,546	14,620	14,628
ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY													
Council on Environmental Quality	n/a	50	32	16	15	11	11	11	13	13	13	13	13
Department of Defense:													
Army Corps of Engineers	n/a	613	800	800	830	860	900	905	913	890	968	1,069	1,122

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990
Department of Energy:													
Economic Regulatory Administration (13)....	-	2,978	2,161	429	597	537	377	299	278	254	223	225	210
Petroleum Regulation.....	-	-	-	954	201	144	128	99	75	85	90	84	76
Federal Inspector for the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline	-	-	101	189	106	26	16	0	1	1	1	1	1
Subtotal.....	-	2,978	2,262	1,572	904	707	521	398	354	340	314	310	287
Department of Interior:													
Fish and Wildlife Service.....	385	827	1,362	1,485	1,341	1,548	1,081	1,162	1,450	1,571	1,522	1,598	1,500
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement (14).....	-	-	1,120	1,200	844	821	849	964	1,080	1,225	1,233	1,236	1,116
Subtotal.....	385	827	2,482	2,685	2,185	2,369	1,930	2,126	2,530	2,796	2,755	2,834	2,616
Environmental Protection Agency (15).....	3,856	9,144	11,004	10,098	9,364	9,376	10,141	11,615	12,041	13,197	13,589	13,739	14,417
Nuclear Regulatory Commission (16).....	688	2,006	3,041	3,029	3,315	3,203	3,332	3,318	3,283	3,218	3,136	3,050	3,041
TOTAL--Environment and Energy.....	4,929	15,618	19,621	18,200	16,613	16,526	16,835	18,373	19,134	20,454	20,775	21,015	21,496
TOTAL SOCIAL REGULATION.....	54,014	81,076	92,413	88,981	81,878	78,421	77,669	77,435	76,986	78,825	79,058	80,084	81,104
ECONOMIC REGULATION													
FINANCE AND BANKING (17)													
Department of the Treasury:													
Comptroller of the Currency.....	1,920	2,546	3,331	3,071	3,071	2,917	3,250	3,250	3,250	3,418	3,680	3,730	3,730
Farm Credit Administration.....	225	230	252	275	284	287	287	287	484	545	554	580	580
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (18)...	2,669	3,614	3,691	3,554	3,435	3,554	3,554	3,554	4,258	3,266	3,483	3,641	3,641

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990
Federal Reserve System (19)													
Federal Reserve Banks	761	1,019	1,589	1,733	1,796	1,862	1,885	1,912	2,087	2,147	2,223	2,250	2,250
Federal Reserve System Board of Governors	188	298	330	355	344	359	404	440	352	413	429	429	429
Subtotal	949	1,317	1,919	2,088	2,140	2,221	2,289	2,352	2,439	2,560	2,652	2,679	2,679
National Credit Union Administration	456	410	488	451	441	407	384	407	483	524	586	615	619
TOTAL--Finance and Banking	6,219	8,117	9,681	9,439	9,371	9,386	9,764	9,850	10,914	10,313	10,955	11,245	11,249
INDUSTRY-SPECIFIC REGULATION													
Civil Aeronautics Board (20)	686	718	753	655	504	436	363	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commodity Futures Trading Commission (21)	180	497	550	550	550	550	557	557	490	520	525	550	562
Federal Communications Commission	1,645	2,022	2,156	2,007	1,865	1,896	1,976	1,828	1,840	1,860	1,894	1,894	1,894
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (22)	1,164	1,323	1,605	1,592	1,516	1,548	1,564	1,533	1,486	1,498	1,493	1,603	1,578
Federal Maritime Commission	252	319	361	306	306	290	232	212	202	208	216	230	233
Interstate Commerce Commission	1,912	2,142	1,940	1,836	1,662	1,201	1,023	839	774	706	678	675	675
Renegotiation Board (23)	233	200	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL--Industry-Specific Regulation	6,072	7,221	7,365	6,946	6,403	5,921	5,715	4,969	4,792	4,792	4,806	4,952	4,942
GENERAL BUSINESS													
Cost Accounting Standards Board (24)	-	-	42	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Council on Wage and Price Stability (25)	-	41	237	115	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	(Estimated) 1989	1990
Department of Commerce:													
International Trade Administration (26)...	256	294	391	376	368	526	446	560	688	655	227	259	282
Export Administration (27)...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	420	558	553
Patent and Trademark Office...	2,795	3,014	2,734	2,834	3,036	3,140	3,286	3,438	3,408	3,093	3,385	3,715	3,898
Subtotal...	3,051	3,308	3,125	3,210	3,404	3,666	3,732	3,998	4,096	3,748	4,032	4,532	4,733
Department of Justice:													
Antitrust Division...	595	715	939	939	829	742	704	649	674	649	549	549	544
Federal Election Commission...	-	62	251	235	219	214	225	235	220	230	245	251	238
Federal Trade Commission...	1,391	1,569	1,665	1,587	1,322	1,122	1,160	1,075	1,033	918	922	872	872
International Trade Commission (28)...	265	408	438	438	413	399	438	462	472	450	466	474	497
Library of Congress:													
Copyright Office...	332	385	593	573	573	573	561	561	561	561	564	564	564
Securities and Exchange Commission...	1,436	2,150	2,100	1,930	1,925	2,021	2,021	2,046	2,080	2,086	2,267	2,267	2,451
TOTAL--General Business...	7,070	8,638	9,390	9,055	8,685	8,737	8,841	9,026	9,136	8,642	9,045	9,509	9,899
TOTAL ECONOMIC REGULATION...	19,361	23,976	26,436	25,440	24,459	24,044	24,320	23,845	24,842	23,747	24,806	25,706	26,090
GRAND TOTAL...	73,375	105,052	118,849	114,421	106,337	102,465	101,989	101,280	101,828	102,572	103,864	105,790	107,194

Notes:

- = agency not operational n/a = not available

(1) through (28): see notes at the beginning of the Appendix

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.